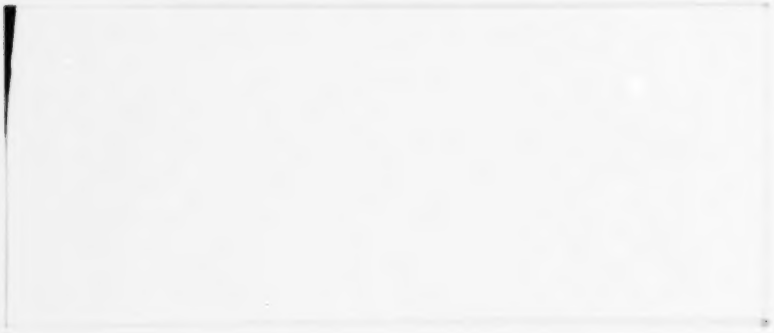
Canadian Centre
For Foreign Policy
Development

Centre canadien
pour le développement
de la politique étrangère

REPORT FROM THE 2nd ANNUAL ACADEMIC ROUNDTABLE
ACADEMIA AND FOREIGN POLICY:
AHEAD OR BEHIND THE CURVE?

May 5, 2000
Ottawa

125 promenade Sussex Drive, Ottawa, Ontario K1A 0G2
Telephone/Téléphone : **613 944 8278** Fax/Télécopieur : **613 944 0687**
www.cfp-pec.gc.ca



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REPORT FROM THE SECOND ANNUAL ACADEMIC ROUNDTABLE: ACADEMIA AND FOREIGN POLICY: AHEAD OR BEHIND THE CURVE?

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On May 5, 2000, the Canadian Centre for Foreign Policy Development brought together 23 academics from across Canada to address some key foreign policy challenges and to connect with Department officials. The academics included, among others, Yasmeen Abu-Laban (University of Alberta), Louis Bélanger (Université Laval), Andrew Cooper (University of Waterloo), Claire Cutler (University of Victoria), Debra Stienstra (University of Winnipeg), David Close (Memorial University of Newfoundland) and Peter Howard (American University). The Roundtable coincided with the last day of the Second Annual Graduate Student Seminar. The 14 graduate students who came to Ottawa from across Canada for the week-long Seminar also participated in the roundtable discussion with Jill Sinclair (Global and Human Issues Bureau), Alan Bowker, (International Academic Relations Division), William Dymond (Policy Planning Division) and other Department officials. The morning discussion focussed on Human Security, Globalisation was addressed in the afternoon. The roundtable was an opportunity to exchange views and ideas and to strengthen policy networks and partnerships. The academics and the students had an opportunity to meet the General Directors of geographic/thematic bureau throughout the day.

1. Introduction

Steven Lee, Chair, started the discussion by welcoming all and drawing attention to the work of the graduate students who came to Ottawa to participate in the Second Annual Graduate Student Seminar, also organised by the Canadian Centre for Foreign Policy Development (CCFPD). The students presented their work to each other on the *Role of NGOs and Civil Society in Conflict and Humanitarian Efforts*, department officials and some NGOs. The Seminar offered them an opportunity to learn about different perspectives and to develop networks with each other as well as with others in the foreign policy community.

The Chair reminded participants that youth is a key priority of the Canadian government, the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade and Minister Axworthy himself. He pointed to the work of the CCFPD on human security and globalisation-related issues, especially in the context of the OAS. He also drew attention to the partnerships the Centre has forged with the academic community in the past, including a project with the United Nations University (Tokyo) addressing New Diplomacy. The Centre actively seeks the views and participation of Canadian academics in the consultations it conducts and the papers it funds and commissions.

Tel.: (613) 944-8278
Internet address: http://www.cfp-pec.gc.ca Fax: (613) 944-0687

The Chair presented the goals of the day:
- to share ideas,
- to help build a network,
- to help connect policy makers with key thinkers in the academic community,
- to test the understanding of human security and globalisation.

2. *Academia and Foreign Policy Makers*

In his key-note presentation John English (University of Waterloo) explored the history of the links between the academic community and the policy makers at the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade in Canada. He pointed out that at its foundation, the Department was virtually run by academics with strong links to Queen's University, almost exclusively. Under the leadership of Dr. O. D. Skelton, who served as the head of the Department of External Affairs for more than 15 years under Prime Minister Mackenzie King, some of the best minds in the country were recruited to define and develop a distinct Canadian foreign policy. The recruits created an exclusive group of "mandarins" in which virtually no women nor Francophones were included. Intellectually, they were drawing on British tradition and scholarly work, with Oxford, Cambridge and London at the centre. Rarely would they consult a Canadian text. The role of External Affairs in the federal government was large.

The connection between the Department and the rest of the Canadian academic community was very weak. While most academics were largely impoverished in the 1920's (through to the 1950's), those on the Department staff enjoyed privileged and well paid positions.

The outset of the Cold War and a change in the Department's leadership altered the academics' relationship with the foreign service. Policies were designed to strengthen ties to the United States. Meanwhile, the academic community developed and prospered. Universities were swept up in anti-Vietnam protests and objections to Canada being a member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation were raised.

During the government of Prime Minister Trudeau, the Department was seen and criticised for being exclusive and elitist. The Trudeau Foreign Policy Review tried to address these factors through "Foreign Policy for Canadians." Canadian society continued to change, including the participation of women, immigration and demographics.

In the late 1980s and early 1990s, the Canadian Institute for International Peace and Security (CIIPS) provided a forum for Department officials, academics, and NGOs, until it was closed by the Conservative government. In more recent times, the Department has involved the academic and NGO communities more. It is also the role of the CCFPD to bring outside ideas and recommendations to the development of foreign policy. A closer link between the Canadian academic community and the Department is developing. An opportunity exists to rejuvenate the Department by bringing new people and opening up to expert public input.

Elizabeth Smythe (Concordia University College of Alberta) pointed to another significant development for the Department in recent years – the amalgamation of Foreign Affairs with International Trade (1982). She drew attention to the foreign policy focus of the CCFPD (as opposed to trade policy), pointing out a major gap in public access to trade issues. She doubted the degree to which the foreign and trade policy components of the Department were integrated. William Dymond (Director General, Policy Planning Division) said that the two parts are not coherently integrated, instead, they coexist. Except perhaps on the issue of corporate social responsibility, politics and economics are still very much apart, he said. Steve Lee, Chair, pointed out that the changing nature of state and civil society relations may increase the pressure to integrate. Institutions will have to respond to the mounting civil society pressures to integrate economic interests (i.e., trade/investment) with political objectives (i.e., human security).

3. Human Security

Jill Sinclair (Director General, Global and Human Issues Bureau), emphasised the role of academics in helping to formulate a theoretical framework for human security. She said that in practice, human security is being implemented as a people-focussed approach aimed at securing human existence (i.e., the protection of civilians in war). Human security involves health, basic education and other key elements of development, besides protecting people from violence (i.e., landmines). "It is unacceptable to be dispassionate," Jill Sinclair said.

The Canadian government has been successful in promoting human security internationally. One may think about the significant role Canada played in the wide-spread acceptance of the Ottawa Convention on Landmines and the establishment of the International Criminal Court. At the United Nations Security Council, OAS General Assembly and other international bodies, Canada has successfully pushed traditionally "low politics" issues including small arms, protection of civilians in armed conflict and war-affected children. Canada has been a proponent of inclusive and accountable global governance.

Human security is a concept well understood by its practitioners. It is also a basket of human-interest issues ranging from public safety to drug trafficking. It is undoubtedly relevant in the world in which civilians bare the overwhelming costs of violent conflict. However, despite the number of practical achievements and conceptual (issue-based) clarity, human security lacks a coherent theoretical framework.

Some participants argued that implementing human security in practice does not require a theoretical framework. The government should push as many human security/soft issues as possible before the window of opportunity to do so closes. Yasmeen Abu-Laban (University of Alberta) said that on the contrary, it matters a lot that clear definitions and theoretical framework for human security exist. Discourse is key to public awareness, understanding and potential support of policy. Claire Cutler (University of Victoria) pointed out that all practice is informed by theory. Human Security is rooted in approaches that are not state-centric. She said that there are revolutionary shifts occurring at the international level and even at the United Nations. She

would have not guessed ten years ago that the International Criminal Court would be possible. Nevertheless the discourse of human security should penetrate the public and institutional consciousness in order to ensure state-centric policies/theories do not become prevalent once again.

Shreesh Juyal (University of Regina) said that a dichotomy exists between human security and national security (i.e., some perceive the need for military intervention to protect individuals as a contradiction). This trend is apparent at the UN and other international bodies and will have to change. Moreover, the reform of the UN is necessary, it continues to be one of the most traditional (i.e., hierarchical and real-politik) international institutions today.

Robert Wolfe (Queen's University) pointed out that much of the human security agenda is not new. Instead, it draws on traditional peace-related studies. He was sceptical about promoting human security as being "pulpit diplomacy." Human security "has nothing to do with our interests and does not require anything of us." A case in point is Minister Axworthy's concern that Talisman's operations may fuel the conflict in Sudan and nevertheless, lack of action following the release of a report stating just that. Another case in point is the gap between fair trade discourse and protection of the textile industry. Jill Sinclair admitted to her occasional scepticism as well. However, she said Canada is doing tangible things such as passing resolutions and developing a human security discourse (i.e., building the normative framework for action), providing financial assistance to further human security objectives and making treaties implementable. While the human security agenda may be traditional, it has evolved and people and institutions are beginning to accept it more widely.

Others doubted the longevity and real impact of human security if the "great powers" fail to support it. Moreover, governments of many newly formed countries, struggling with state building, either do not understand the concept, or find it difficult to square human security with their state building objectives, said Piotr Dutkiewicz (Carleton University). Jill Sinclair pointed out that while some governments remain suspicious, many others, including the United Kingdom support the concept. Human security is becoming a part of institutional consciousness of international bodies, such as the OAS and even the UN.

Sandra MacLean (Dalhousie University) asked whether human security does not lead to the militarisation of development. Human security has its critics on the Left and Right of the political spectrum. Another question is whether human security, and especially humanitarian intervention, is truly aimed at protecting people or whether it is a form of neocolonialism. Would a sustainable development lens be better in addressing problems like health and education? Others questioned whether it is possible to focus on individual/localised protection while developing a universal set of values. Jill Sinclair pointed out that the suspicion of the Left is unjustified. Some left-of-the-centre groups have to square some circles themselves and move from an ideological militancy that characterised the 1960s.

The methodology for democratising foreign policy should be devised/improved. While it

is commendable new groups are brought in, the question who is brought in and who is left out is key. Jill Sinclair said that the groups of NGOs differ according to the topic at hand. Moreover, it is the NGOs who usually approach the Department rather than *vice versa*. Coherence between NGOs and the government and among NGOs and government departments themselves will have to be improved in order to deliver integrated human security oriented policy and programmes. (In this respect the coherence of NGOs on the landmines issue was unprecedented). This coherent approach will have to be extended to include International Financial Institutions (IFIs) so that links are created/strengthened between global economic "security" and human security, said Debra Stienstra (University of Winnipeg). Currently the coordination between DFAIT and IFIs is very weak.

4. Globalisation

Claire Cutler (University of Victoria) addressed the disjuncture between globalisation related processes, sanctioned by the majority of states, and international law. These processes include, for instance: 1) the growing flexibility of labour, financial, commodity and other markets, 2) intensifying global competition and the concomitant ascendancy of the "competition state" (as opposed to the welfare state), and 3) the growth of transnational production/capital mobility (i.e., Foreign Direct Investment). Faced by these globalisation related challenges, law is often de-localised. States implement/superimpose international law that increasingly reflects the power of corporations (business interests). Consequently, in developing countries or newly emerging states, sovereignty (which can also be seen as a reaction to globalisation related homogeneity) is being reasserted in a way that protects property rather than people. The modernised world is thus being reimposed unevenly around the globe.

A good example of this trend is the growth of private arbitration in settling commercial/business disputes. Tax, securities regulation, and other issues previously considered public policy issues are removed from the public realm and arbitrated privately. While this practice has only started recently and is concentrated in the United States, it has a potential of becoming a universally adopted norm if the public does not become aware and resistant. There is a need to better understand where these emerging legal practices are taking us. It is also important to realise that international law has an asymmetrical impact around the globe, depending on the degree to which legal (and other) traditions and mechanisms are embedded.

Debra Stienstra (University of Winnipeg) pointed out that a similar analysis could be applied to human rights law. Globalisation related processes, in this case the shift to the "Competition State" and privatisation, pose challenges for the ability of states to provide welfare for their citizens. The implications of this trend, lets say for the rights of persons with disabilities, are significant. What are the strategies to create new norms?

Shreesh Juyal (University of Regina) asked whether the recent developments in Washington and Seattle do not point to some penetration of public interest into the state sanctioned corporate agenda. Claire Cutler said there is very little correspondence between

corporate and public interests/concerns, leading to a social amonie. However, Seattle did make a difference and demonstrations/protest like that may be a way to push the public interest on the global economic agenda. Resistance starts locally. Vincent Della Salla (Carleton University) pointed out that this might be difficult to do since there does not exist an accountable and responsible public authority to which anti-systemic/anti-globalisation related grievances could be directed. Where do groups go when the state and corporate interests are hostile? Stopping the MIA and the recent protests in Washington and Seattle may have contributed to developing a discourse but did not make a tangible difference. Elizabeth Smythe (Concordia University College) said that while no one really knows what the real impact of Washington and Seattle will be, globalisation (seen as a contestable, business driven process), has been de-legitimised by the civil society protests.

Arch Ritter (Carleton University) said that the impact of globalisation on development is variable. In some parts of Latin America, participation in the global economic system improved socioeconomic conditions. In Chile, for instance, integration has led to increased exports and technological transfers. The per capita income has improved, poverty has fallen by more than one half and taxes were increased to pay for social programs. The current government is not anti-labour. This development leads one to conclude that there is no dichotomy between a "Competition State" and a social welfare state. The two are mutually supportive. While this may be true, Louis Bélanger (Université Laval) said that the link between trade policy and foreign policy has to be strengthened. It could be useful to look at economic/trade issues through a lens equivalent to human security. In this context, it would make sense to open borders to textiles coming from the South. Access to globalisation may equal development if safety nets are created and trade conducted within a broader framework. Nonetheless, the fact remains, as Jean-Philipe Thérien (Université de Montréal) pointed out, that there is a clear correlation between trade openness and the development of income disparities. Income disparities are greater than ever world-wide, he said.

Claire Cutler (University of Victoria) revisited the disjunction between trade and foreign policy. She expressed her concern that economic policy/decisions are not presented (to the public) as rational political choices but rather as responses/impulses to neutral global processes. In this sense, Seattle and Washington were a reactions to this trend/discourse. In these cases, dissent took the form of "yelling back" at the amorphous global structures.

5. *Canada's Constructivist Foreign Policy: Building Norms for Peace*

Peter Howard (School of International Service, American University) presented a paper he has written with Reina Neufeldt on Canada's foreign policy. He said that Canada's actions abroad have been perceived in the academic literature as typical middle power policies. This perception is based on a thin view of the social structure of the international system and should be complemented. "Applying a constructivist lens to Axworthy's foreign policy provides useful insights into the process of international norm and rule production, legitimisation, and diffusion from a state perspective." This approach allows us to posit Canada as a "tipping agent" in

constructing new international norms.

In its role as a tipping agent, Canada tips emerging international norms into a cascade. Canada chooses those norms it wishes to support and acts as a catalyst to bring about a norm cascade through its foreign policy practice. It not only puts resource to work, but capitalises on its middle power status to perform the necessary functions to tip a norm. (Canada, as a "middle power," has historically worked with NGOs and International Organisations to advance humanitarian goals). To test their hypothesis, Howard and Neufeldt engaged in a comparison of three case studies: Land Mines, Small Arms and Light Weapons Transfers, and the International Criminal Court.

Their investigation revealed that Canada can indeed act as a tipping agent in the process of creating new international norms. Common themes that re-appear in successful Canadian campaigns to tip norms to a cascade include working with NGOs and transnational civil society in general and Canada's ability to deploy its resources in support of the norms. Several factors, such as, for instance, limitation of agency on tipping norms outside of Canada's traditional middle power/humanitarian role, may limit Canada's ability as a tipping agent. In conclusion, Peter Howard pointed out to the need to develop a theoretical perspective to the ongoing debates about the future of Canadian foreign policy.

Claire Cutler (University of Victoria) pointed out that cautiously situating oneself within a moral framework is more important than ever, given the neutralisation of politics brought about by globalisation. Canada is in a good position to be a tipping agent. It actively participates in a global network of international organisations and is developing a partnership with NGOs and other segments of civil society.

Douglas Anglin (Carleton University) said that individual action has to be taken into the account. The ability of the Minister to see the opportunity and to rise to the occasion is a key factor in Canadian foreign policy. Hector Mackenzie (Communications Programs and Outreach Division) echoed Douglas Anglin's point. Human security issues have always been there and the Department has attempted to act on many, but the lack of vision and leadership often prevented the development of an actual policy. The land mines campaign was especially about individual efforts to include people, to carry out policies, to raise awareness and so on.

6. Academia and Foreign Policy: Ahead or Behind the Curve?

Andrew Cooper (University of Waterloo) talked about the state of Canadian academia. He said that first, Canadian academics are in many ways catalysts for ideas. While it is up to a foreign minister to pick up some of these ideas, academics have been addressing and pushing for different notions of security for some time. Second, academics often act as a warning mechanism/lightening rod. For instance, there have been extensive studies on the danger of an unregulated hyper-mobile financial capital regime. The potential for an emerging double movement has also been addressed (and vindicated, as the backlash against globalisation

culminated in a series of public protests). Third, academics can play a role of a balancer. This was the case in shifting Canada's focus from bilateralism to more multilateral approaches.

The areas where Canadian academics fall behind the curve include their tendency to dichotomise problems and solutions. This is the case in looking at "end-runs," for instance (i.e., the concern that end-runs undermine, de-legitimise and over-extend the UN system *versus* the enthusiasm about end-runs and fragmented authority). Another deficiency may be the clustering of Canadian academics around the same issues, which may leave some important issues unaddressed.

Andrew Cooper addressed issues related to new developments such as just-in-time publication, putting more pressure on academics to deliver, and virtual diplomacy and virtual war. He also pointed out that the obsession of American academics to be ahead of the curve does not exist (to that degree) in Canada. Another major difference is that many American research initiatives are funded by private agencies/individuals. Canadians can rarely draw on such opportunities.

Louis Pauly (University of Toronto) said that while the CCFPD is a significant initiative, creating a Council on International Relations, on the lines of the American equivalent, would be useful for sharing ideas and building academic fora. Robert Wolfe (Queen's University) pointed out that there is a structural need in the United States for the Council, while debate in Canada takes place through institutions like the CIIA and the House of Commons, foreign policy today requires advice on a myriad of complex issues. Globalisation is making the involvement of outside actors essential and unmanageable at the same time. The challenge to connect all the pieces is significant and a forum could be useful. Larry Woods (University of Northern BC) added that it is important for any future academic foreign policy fora to be multi-disciplinary and reach beyond the political science community.

7. Conclusion

Steve Lee, Chair, concluded the day's discussion by stressing that the Department can no longer do foreign policy alone. Participation of all sectors of civil society is required. The challenge continues to be in how to best promote inclusion and coherence. Who should be included and how? Today's roundtable aimed at building the foreign policy community by helping to connect young and seasoned scholars with each other and with Department officials.

He said that the discussion of human security, globalisation and Canada's constructivist approach were interesting and useful. He reiterated Canada's role as a builder of norms and asked why has it been so difficult to develop and apply norms (especially moral-based norms) on nuclear weapons issues. Future roundtables could address some of the main issues coming from today's discussion, including the need to think about norm building in trade policy.

He encouraged participants to identify issues for foreign policy options and submit

project proposals. Before he thanked all for their participation, he drew attention for upcoming CCFPD activities such as, Hemisphere and OAS roundtables, National Forum 2000 meetings, and the Centres' work on drugs, small arms, war-affected children and other human security issues.

AGENDA

THE SECOND ANNUAL ACADEMIC ROUNDTABLE
ACADEMIA AND FOREIGN POLICY: AHEAD OR BEHIND THE CURVE?

May 5, 2000
Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade
125 Sussex Drive, A – 9
Ottawa

9:00	Meet at the front desk (Guests will be escorted to the A - 9 Open Area)
	Coffee and light breakfast available
9:30-10:00	**Welcome and Opening Remarks** Steven Lee, Executive Director, Canadian Centre for Foreign Policy Development
	Roundtable Introductions
10:00-10:30	**Key note presentation** ***Academia and Foreign Policy Makers*** John English, University of Waterloo
10:30-10:45	*Comments*
	Coffee available
10:45-11:00	***Human Security*** Jill Sinclair, Global and Human Issues Bureau
11:00-12:00	*Discussion*
12:00-13:00	*Lunch*
13:00-13:15	***Globalization*** Claire Cutler, University of Victoria
13:15-14:25	*Discussion*

14:25-14:30 *Move to Boardroom from the Open Area*

14:30-14:45 ***Canada's Constructivist Foreign Policy: Building Norms for Peace***
Peter Howard, School of International Service, American University

14:45-15:45 *Discussion*

15:45-16:00 ***Academia and Foreign Policy: Ahead or Behind the Curve?***
Andrew Cooper, University of Waterloo

16:00-16:45 *Discussion*

16:45 *Closing Remarks*
Steve Lee, Chair

18:30 **Cocktail**
Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, A - 9 (All those who participated in the Academic Roundtable and the Graduate Student Seminar are welcome)

19:00 **Annual Academic and Graduate Students Dinner**
Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, A - 9 (All those who participated in the Academic Roundtable and the Graduate Student Seminar are welcome)

Note:

Schedule for meetings with the Department officials will be available on Friday at the roundtable. These informal meetings are voluntary and will run in parallel to the roundtable proceedings.

LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

THE SECOND ANNUAL ACADEMIC ROUNDTABLE
ACADEMIA AND FOREIGN POLICY: AHEAD OR BEHIND THE CURVE?

May 5, 2000
Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade
125 Sussex Drive
Ottawa

Yasmeen Abu-Laban
University of Alberta

Douglas Anglin
Carleton University

Louis Bélanger
Université Laval

David Close
Memorial University of Newfoundland

Andrew Cooper
University of Waterloo

Claire Cutler
University of Victoria

Vincent Della Sala
Carleton University

Piotr Dutkiewicz
Carleton University

John English
University of Waterloo

Peter Howard
American University
Washington, DC

Tami Jacoby
University of Manitoba

Shreesh Juyal
University of Regina

Jean Laux
University of Ottawa

Sandra MacLean
Dalhousie University

Alex Macleod
Université du Québec à Montréal

Louis Pauly
University of Toronto

Arch Ritter
Carleton University

Claire Sjolander
University of Ottawa

Elizabeth Smythe
Concordia University College of Alberta

Walter Soderlund
University of Windsor

Debra Stienstra
University of Winnipeg

Jean-Philipe Thérien
Université de Montréal

Robert Wolfe
Queen`s University

Larry Woods
University of Northern BC

Graduate Students

Susan Finch
Carleton University

Gillian Frost
McMaster University

David Gamache Hutchison
University of Alberta

France Gaudreault
Université Laval

Mary Moore
University of Western Ontario

Vanessa Pelland
Université du Québec à Montréal

Erin Robinson
Brock University

Jennifer Ross
Queen's University

Siobian Patricia Smith
University of Northern British Columbia

Julie Salgado
York University

Priya Sood
Dalhousie University

Christopher Spearin
University of British Columbia

Sarah Tarry
Dalhousie University

Orrick White
Queen`s University

DFAIT

Jill Sinclair
Global and Human Issues Bureau

Hector Mackenzie
Communications Programs and Outreach Division

Alan Bowker
International Academic Relations Division

William Dymond
Policy Planning Secretariat

Chris Cushing
Peacebuilding and Human Security Division

Canadian Centre for Foreign Policy Development

Steve Lee
Executive Director and Chair

Marketa Geisler
Rapporteur/Writer

Yannick Lamonde
Executive Assistant

Guests Joining the Cocktail and Dinner

Patricial Lortie
International Organisations Bureau

David Klug
Carribean and Central America Division
DFAIT

Steve Wallace
CIDA

Mark Gaillard
Non-proliferation, Arms Control and Disarmament

Russel Stubbert
Carribean and Latin America Division

Natalie Mychajlysczyn
Carleton University

Debbie Cook
Privy Council Office